Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 232705 TOSEC 270398

53
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 PRS-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:REBUTLER:REB
APPROVED BY PA/M:WJDYESS
S/S - MR. BRIDGES
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS
---------- 101801
O 201710Z SEP 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 232705 TOSEC 270398

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. ABC NEWS ISSUES AND ANSWERS PROGRAM, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19 (GUEST: GEORGE BUSH) BEING SENT BY SEPTEL.

2. HEREWITH FULL TEXT WILLIAM SAFIRE OP-ED PAGE ESSAY NEW YORK TIMES MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, HEADED "CARTER ON CHINA."

3. WASHINGTON -- WHEN JIMMY CARTER GAVE A SOMEWHAT CONFUSED ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS THIS SUMMER, AN ESSAYIST SEEKING CLARIFICATION WAS TOLD BY A CARTER AIDE: "WE.LL HAVE TO CHECK THIS OUT WITH PROFESSOR COHEN."

4. JEROME ALAN COHEN, ASSOCIATE DEAN OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL AND ONE OF THE WORLD.S LEADING AUTHORITIES ON CHINESE LEGAL STUDIES, WAS CONSULTED. HE WROTE A BRIEF STATEMENT WHICH WAS ISSUED AS THE CARTER POSITION.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 232705 TOSEC 270398

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

5. ACCORDINGLY, THE APPEARANCE THIS WEEK OF AN ARTICLE TITLED "A CHINA POLICY FOR THE NEXT

ADMINISTRATION" IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE BY PROFESSOR COHEN CARRIES WEIGHT. NINE YEARS AGO, RICHARD NIXON CHOSE THE SAME FORUM TO HINT AT HIS FUTURE CHINA POLICY IN "ASIA AFTER VIETNAM"; NOT MANY PEOPLE NOTICED. PROFESSOR COHEN IS FAR MORE EXPLICIT AND HIS ARTICLE DESERVES CLOSE STUDY.

6. THE MAN WHO HAS CANDIDATE CARTER.S EAR MAKES THE ASTUTE OBSERVATION THAT "AMERICA HAS BEGUN TO ACQUIESCE IN CHINESE PURCHASE OF SELECTED MILITARY ITEMS FROM OUR ALLIES," AND URGES THAT WE "RESCIND THOSE EXPORT CONTROL RULES THAT PERMIT SALES OF TECHNOLOGIES TO THE U.S.S.R. BUT DENY THEM TO CHINA. ..."

7. BUT ON THE WHOLE, PROFESSOR COHEN ARGUES, WE SHOULD NOT "TILT" TOWARD PEKING RATHER THAN MOSCOW: WE SHOULD TREAT THEM EVENHANDEDLY. "THE UNITED STATES MUST MAKE IT CLEAR TO PEKING THAT IT WILL NOT SACRIFICE DETENTE WITH THE U.S.S.R."

8. THAT ATTITUDE COMES AS A SHOCKER TO THOSE OF US WHO THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD INDEED "TILT" TOWARD THE WEAKER OF THE TWO COMMUNIST POWERS, EXPLOITING THEIR RIFT TO SQUEEZE ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENTS OUT OF THE U.S.S.R. BUT THE CARTER ADVISER IS JUST GETTING STARTED.

9. IT IS TIME, HE WRITES, TO DE-RECOGNIZE TAIWAN AND TO ESTABLISH A FULL-SIZED EMBASSY IN PEKING. WITH ADMIRABLE CONSISTENCY, HE ADMITS THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE ABROGATING OUR DEFENSE TREATY WITH THE 16 MILLION ANTI-COMMUNIST RESIDENTS OF TAIWAN. "HERE LIES THE REAL CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY -- HOW TO TERMINATE THE DEFENSE TREATY WITHOUT SERIOUSLY DAMAGING MORALE ON TAIWAN AND TURNING PROSPERITY INTO PANIC."

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

10. HOW IS THAT DONE? "SOME TYPE OF PUBLIC ASSURANCE FROM PEKING THAT WOULD RULE OUT THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN, WHILE NOT INDISPENSABLE, WOULD BE DESIRABLE. ..." BUT PROFESSOR COHEN KNOWS THAT IS WISHFUL THINKING: THE CHINESE CONSIDER SUCH AN ASSURANCE TO BE THROWING AWAY THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, AND RECENT SIGNALS HAVE BEEN THAT ONE DAY TAIWAN WOULD BE CONQUERED BY FORCE.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

11. REALIZING THIS, HE SUGGESTS REPLACING THE DEFENSE PACT WITH "SOME FORM OF UNILATERAL AMERICAN COMMITMENT,"

WHICH TURNS OUT TO BE A FUZZY ASSERTION OF AMERICA.S "INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT," PLUS A "SOLEMN POLICY DECLARATION" BY THE PRESIDENT AND "CONTINUING SALE, UNDER PRIVATE AUSPICES" OF AMERICAN ARMS.

12. PROFESSOR COHEN INSISTS "SUCH A POLICY SURELY DOES NOT CONSTITUTE AN .ABANDONMENT OF TAIWAN. OR .SELLING TAIWAN INTO COMMUNIST SUBJUGATION.. " BUT IT SURELY DOES.

13. HE ASSURES US THAT "FEW EXPECT THE PEOPLE.S REPUBLIC TO ATTE;PT A VIOLENT CONQUEST OF TAIWAN AFTER TERMINATION OF THE DEFENSE TREATY, EVEN IF THE U.S. SHOULD FAIL TO PROVIDE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE TREATY." SORRY, NOT SO FEW. HE GOES ON TO ASSUME THE UNAIDED TAIWANESE DEFENDERS "CAN BE EXPECTED TO MAKE THE MILITARY PRICE OF ANY COMMUNIST VICTORY UNACCEPTABLE TO PEKING."

14. UNACCEPTABLE LOSSES? TO THE 950 MILLION CHINESE, WHOSE ARMY DID NOT SHRINK FROM "HUMAN WAVE" ATTACKS? THEN THE PROFESSOR TOSSES IN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE TAIWANESE MIGHT ONE DAY "GO NUCLEAR" -- BUT THE CHINESE ON THE MAINLAND SEE THAT AS AN INCENTIVE TO INVADE SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

15. THE COHEN-CARTER VIEW CONTAINS IMPORTANT QUALI-FIERS AND IS THE PRODUCT OF A SERIOUS EXPERT WHO COMMANDS RESPECT AND DESERVES LENGTHIER ANALYSIS. THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 232705 TOSEC 270398

VIEW IS PROFOUNDLY WRONG, IN MY OPINION, IN ITS CEN-TRAL ASSUMPTION -- THAT TAIWAN IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THE CHINESE THAN AMERICA.S RESISTANCE TO THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.

16. THAT VIEW IS MISTAKEN, TOO, IN WARNING THAT IF WE DO NOT BREAK WITH TAIWAN SO AS TO UPGRADE OUR LIAISON OFFICE IN PEKING TO AN EMBASSY, THEN THE NEW LEADERS IN CHINA WILL GROW IMPATIENT WITH US AND RE-EMBRACE MOSCOW.

17. THE ONLY POLICY THAT WILL ENCOURAGE CHINA TO REMAIN AN OPPONENT OF MOSCOW IS UNITED STATES FIRMNESS TOWARD MOSCOW. CERTAINLY CHINA WANTS TAIWAN, AND WOULD GRAB IT, GIVEN THE CHANCE -- BUT THE CHINESE LEADERS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

PUT FIRST THINGS FIRST, AND THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE
"BARBARIAN SUPERPOWERS" COMES FIRST.

18. THE COHEN-CARTER VIEW SEEKS TO ASSUAGE CHINESE

CONCERN ABOUT OUR ACCOMMODATION OF MOSCOW BY AN ACCOM-
MODATION OF CHINA. THAT ONLY COMPOUNDS APPEASEMENT.
WE SHOULD INDUCE CHINESE COOPERATION BY USING THE
THREAT OF THAT COOPERATION TO NEGOTIATE MORE AGRES-
SIVELY WITH THE SOVIETS.

19. AT LEAST THE CARTER PEOPLE ARE TELLING US WHAT
THEY THINK ABOUT CHINA. THE FORD POLICY IS A MYSTERY
WRAPPED IN AN ENIGMA HIDDEN INSIDE A SHUTTLE. END
TEXT. ROBINSON

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, TEXT, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE232705
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: REBUTLER:REB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760355-0029
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760940/aaaabilj.tel
Line Count: 184
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vandyklc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 FEB 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 FEB 2004 by MaustMC>; APPROVED <26 AUG 2004 by vandyklc>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, CH, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (BUSH, GEORGE), (SAFIRE, WILLIAM)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006